

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:ALATHERTON, JR./SSOBER/HLK

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IO - SWLEWIS

S/S- MR. ORTIZ

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 009002

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, SA, US

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO PRINCE SAUD ON UNSC DEBATE

REF: JIDDA 158

FOR CHARGE

1. YOU SHOULD INFORM PRINCE SAUD THAT VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE POINTS HE MADE TO YOU ON JANUARY 10 REGARDING UNSC MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST. WE SHARE SAG VIEW THAT CAUSE OF PEACE WOULD NOT BE SERVED BY A NEGATIVE DEBATE THAT WOULD PUT FURTHER OBSTACLES IN PATH TOWARD PEACE. YOU SHOULD ASSURE HIM THAT WE TOO APPROACH UNSC MEETING WITH STRONG HOPE THAT DEBATE WILL BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND STRENGTHEN, RATHER THAN UNDERMINE, FOUNDATIONS FOR FURTHER POSITIVE MOVES TOWARD PEACE.

2. TELL SAUD THAT THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY HAVE HAD OCCASION DURING PAST WEEK TO DISCUSS THE VARIOUS ISSUES WITH OUR AMBASSADORS TO EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA, WHO HAVE RE-

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TURNED TO POSTS TO CONTINUE OUR DIALOGUE WITH THOSE GOVERN-

MENTS. IN ADDITION, AMBASSADOR PORTER PARTICIPATED IN THE DISCUSSIONS HERE, INCLUDING MEETING WITH PRESIDENT, AND HE

WILL BE PREPARED PERSONALLY TO GIVE SAUD HIS OWN IMPRESSIONS OF THE URGENCY AND GREAT CARE WITH WHICH THESE MATTERS ARE BEING CONSIDERED AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG.

3. YOU SHOULD ADD THAT THE US HAS CONSIDERED THE UNSC MEETING IN THE LARGER CONTEXT OF EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM. MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN THE PAST TWO YEARS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY SC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AND THE GENEVA ARRANGEMENTS. WE HAVE TRIED TO VISUALIZE THE SECURITY COUNCIL AS A USEFUL NEGOTIATING FORUM, BUT HAVE BECOME CONVINCED THAT IT IS NOT THE PROPER ONE TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD IN THE LIGHT OF THE VARIOUS OBSTACLES TO POSITIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSIONS IN THE SC WHICH EXIST -- E.G., THE PARTICIPATION OF COUNTRIES WITHOUT A DIRECT ROLE IN OR RESPONSIBILITY FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS AND THE TENDENCY TO TAKE EXTREME PUBLIC POSITIONS RATHER THAN SEARCH FOR COMPROMISE AND ACCOMMODATION. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE SC SESSION HAS, INDEED, A SERIOUS POTENTIAL TO INTERFERE WITH CONTINUED PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE, AND ONE OF OUR PRINCIPAL CONCERNS IS TO AVOID SUCH A RESULT. IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE THE US IS DETERMINED TO GENERATE PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING THE SC MEETING THAT WE ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE TO PRESERVING THE ONLY EXISTING AND ACCEPTED FRAMEWORK FOR THOSE NEGOTIATIONS. IF THAT FRAMEWORK, SO CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED SINCE 1967, IS ALTERED IN WAYS UNACCEPTABLE TO ONE OR ANOTHER OF THE PARTIES, WE SEE NO POSSIBILITY OF DEVISING AN AGREED REPLACEMENT FOR IT.

4. AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON INFORMED CROWN PRINCE FAHD AND SEVERAL OTHER KEY MIDDLE EAST LEADERS DURING HIS TRIP LAST DECEMBER, THE US POSITION IS THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO OPPOSE ANY RESOLUTION THAT ATTEMPTED TO ALTER ADVERSELY OR AMPLIFY, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, THE AGREED BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, SC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. TO GO BEYOND

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THOSE RESOLUTIONS AT THIS TIME WOULD TEND TO UNDO MUCH OF THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, AND WE WOULD HAVE TO OPPOSE IT. TO UNDERMINE THE 242 AND 338 FRAMEWORK WOULD, FOR EXAMPLE, DIMINISH THE PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY RENEWAL OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, WHICH HAS BEEN-- AND REMAINS--A US OBJECTIVE. WE ARE OF COURSE RESERVING JUDGMENT ON HOW WE WOULD VOTE UNTIL WE SEE WHAT KIND OF RESOLUTION LANGUAGE IS PROPOSED, BUT HIS HIGHNESS SHOULD

KNOW THAT KIND OF RESOLUTION ELEMENTS HE HAS DESCRIBED GOES IN DIRECTION OF CHANGING EXISTING FRAMEWORK.

5. YOU SHOULD ADD THAT, IN REGARD TO THE PALESTINIANS, THE

THE US VIEW HAS BEEN, AND IS, THAT THERE CAN BE NO MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT THAT DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE AREA, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. IT IS OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THAT THESE INTERESTS MUST BE DEALT WITH IN THE CONTEXT OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE PARTIES, AND NOT PREJUDGED IN SECURITY COUNCIL. IT WOULD BE ILLOGICAL FOR THE COUNCIL TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT THE PLO SHOULD BECOME A PARTY TO THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS WHEN IT CONTINUES TO REJECT THE PRINCIPLES AND RESOLUTIONS ON WHICH THOSE NEGOTIATIONS ARE BASED.

6. FINALLY, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT IN BEING INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THE ABOVE POINTS, YOU HAVE BEEN ASKED TO REITERATE OUR DEEP APPRECIATION FOR THE SENSIBLE, MODERATING STANCE OF THE SAG ON THESE MATTERS, AND FOR THE UNDERSTANDING IT HAS SHOWN OF THE USG EFFORTS TO BE HELPFUL IN MOVING THE PARTIES TOWARD PEACE. WE HAVE VALUED HIGHLY THE SAG'S COUNSEL ON THESE QUESTIONS AND WISH TO REMAIN, AS ALWAYS, IN CLOSE TOUCH AS THE SITUATION DEVELOPS. WE ARE APPROACHING THE CURRENT SC MEETING PREPARED TO HEAR WHAT OTHERS PROPOSE AND DETERMINED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS AFTER THE COUNCIL MEETING, BEGINNING WITH THE IMPORTANT AND DIFFICULT TALKS WE EXPECT TO HAVE WITH PM RABIN THE END OF THIS MONTH. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE FELT IT IMPORTANT TO ASSURE THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE LIMITS BEYOND WHICH WE DO NOT FEEL WE CAN GO IF WE ARE TO RETAIN THE ABILITY TO PURSUE THE PEACEMAKING ROLE WHICH  
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IS UNIQUELY OURS. THIS MAY REQUIRE ACTIONS BY US IN NEW YORK WITH WHICH OUR ARAB FRIENDS DO NOT AGREE, BUT WE WANT THEM TO KNOW OUR POSITION AND NOT TO MISLEAD THEM. WE WILL BE ACTING ACCORDING TO OUR BEST JUDGMENT OF WHAT SERVES US INTERESTS IN KEEPING OPEN THE POSSIBILITY FOR PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE.

7. IF SAUD RAISES QUESTION OF OUR VOTE AGAINST PLO PARTICIPATION IN CURRENT DEBATE, YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT OUR POSITION WAS BASED ON UN CONSTITUTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS -- NAMELY OUR STRONG FEELING THAT COUNCIL SHOULD NOT SET UNDESIRABLE PRECEDENT, IN VIOLATION OF ITS OWN RULES, OF SEATING A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ENTITY, WHETHER THE PLO OR ANY OTHER, IN THE CAPACITY ALWAYS RESERVED IN THE PAST FOR MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE UN. WE VOTED FOR THIS

SC MEETING TO BE HELD, BUT BELIEVE THE PROPER PROCEDURE  
WOULD HAVE BEEN FOR THE PLO TO BE HEARD UNDER RULE 39  
(NON-GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES) WHICH EXISTS FOR THIS  
VERY PURPOSE. KISSINGER

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